APR 1 9 1945

The Church's Battle for Europe's Soul

By A. L. Warnshuis

MISSIONARY RESEARCH LIBRARY NEW YORK CITY

An emissary's report to the Christians of America.

About the Author

Dr. A. Livingston Warnshuis is Foreign Counsellor for the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, which coordinates the overseas relief and reconstruction interests of 26 Protestant denominations. He was born in Clymer, New York. His home is in Bronxville, New York. He was educated at Hope College, Holland, Michigan, and New Brunswick Theological Seminary. In 1900 he went as a missionary to Amoy, China, where he served for 15 years. Amoy is indebted to him for "Language Lessons in the Amoy Vernacular" and for various books and pamphlets in that language. From 1915 to 1920 his headquarters were in Shanghai while he served as one of the national secretaries of the churches and missions in China. Since 1920 until his retirement in 1942, he was Secretary of the International Missionary Council, first for five years in England, and then in New York. He has been active in the work of the Reformed Church and has held high office in the General Synod. His theory is that a good member of his denomination makes the best ecumenical leader. He is secretary of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service; Member of the Committee on Religious Liberty, Member of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society, and a Trustee of Yenching University, Nanking Theological Seminary, and Huachung College. He has been associated with many of the great Christian conferences of the past decades. He visited Palestine (1928), Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines (1930-31), India—Madras Conference (1938-39). He was co-editor of the reports on the Jerusalem Conference (1929) and the Madras Series (I.M.C. 1939).

In November and December 1944 he flew to London, Paris and Switzerland as a representative of the World Council of Churches, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, bearing also commissions from many major denominations and a number of church-related agencies. He went as an emissary of the Christians of America, to bear their greetings and express their concern over the physical and spiritual welfare of their European brethren, and to find out how the Christians of America could help. This booklet is the report of that trip.

The CHURCH'S BATTLE for EUROPE'S SOUL

by

A. Livingston Warnshuis

American Committee
for the
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Columbia University Libraries

https://archive.org/details/churchsbattlefor00warn

Foreword

American Christians have been eagerly awaiting the earliest occasion which would make it possible to reestablish direct personal contact with the Churches of Europe. The reports of the stalwart resistance of the churches in the occupied countries to coercion by the occupying power have been a growing source of inspiration. The heroic witness of the Church in the midst of the blackness of Europe's night has provided a new beacon of hope. The thousands of personal tragedies faced by Christians of every nation have produced spiritual experiences without parallel in our modern world. Well might American Christians pray to be worthy to enter even vicariously into the new insight into the power of Christ which has come to our European brethren in this fiery trial.

Deeply feeling all this, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America had united to establish the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. Its responsibility is to help the various denominational leaders to plan together for a united Christian response to the needs of the churches overseas. To this committee have come from time to time memoranda from the World Council of Churches' office in Geneva, beginning with the one brought back by Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert as a result of consultations in Switzerland in the fall of 1942. These documents forged out of the white heat of the suffering European Churches gave definite indications of the direction of their thinking about reconstruction. It was evident that when the longed-for day of liberation should come, our main concern should be not to impose any scheme of our own on the European Churches but to assist those who have endured the heat of tragic years in whatever ways they should themselves desire.

It therefore became urgent that at the first opportunity some trusted emissary, whose acceptability was well-recognized, should visit the churches in Europe to carry in person our assurance of Christian fellowship and to offer them whatever type of assistance they might request. With one accord the mind of church leaders turned to Dr. A. Livingston Warnshuis. His lifetime of experience in missionary circles and his multitude of contacts with church leaders of Europe gave him the requisite insight into the problems to be faced. He spent 20 years in China and was then called to London as secretary of the International Missionary Council. Still later he became its New York executive. In his years of service with this great branch of the ecumenical movement he was connected with the planning of the meetings held in Jerusalem, 1928, and Madras, 1938, as well as the interim meetings of the International Missionary Council. He likewise participated actively in the Oxford and Edinburgh World Conferences of 1937. All this experience and his rich background of personal friendship among churchmen was further augmented by his acquaintance in official governmental circles. He was the choice not only of the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction of which he is the

Foreign Counsellor, but also of the American Committee for the World Council of Churches and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as their joint representative for this important task. In addition, he carried special messages for some twenty denominational bodies to their sister churches in Europe. Thus, he became in fact an "Ambassador Plenipotentiary" of the Christian Churches in the United States to the Churches of Europe.

He found Europe totally geared to war to a far greater extent than most of us had realized here. His transportation was governed by the Army and the requirements of military procedure. The fact that from the President down, through all the branches of the government, extraordinary measures were taken to speed his mission he regards as abundant evidence of the high estimate which government places on the importance of the churches in the whole field of reconstruction.

This is Dr. Warnshuis' report to the church people of America upon the mission that was intrusted to him. It is a document unique in modern church history. It will receive the attention and study which it merits because American Christians are deeply in earnest that we shall not fail our brethren in Europe during these critical years. The Churches here have patiently and carefully prepared their channels for service to the Christians of Europe. Let the Christians of America respond to the appeals for help in such generous and overflowing measure as shall leave no doubt that we are ready to assume our share of the tasks of an ecumenical church, and that we grasp the implications of membership in the one world-wide Christian community.

Samuel McCrea Cavert
Henry Smith Leiper
Leslie B. Moss

The Church's Battle for Europe's Soul

This is my report concerning the trip which took me to London, Paris, and Geneva in November and December 1944. My commission was to take the greetings of the American Churches to their Christian brothers in Europe and to assure the people there of our concern over both the physical and spiritual trials which still confront them. I was particularly delegated to find out what they needed and how we could help most effectively.

I have delivered many documents and files of reports to the score of interdenominational and denominational bodies for whom I was officially delegated to speak. Yet perhaps the most important things remain to be said. My mission will not be complete till I have brought to the individual Christians of America, from whom ultimately my commission stems, some direct report of what I saw and some basic interpretation of the obvious Christian implications.

Soul-stirring developments are taking place in Europe today. I shall try to tell about them as they appeared to me.

Some noteworthy aspects of this visit to Europe are these:

1. *Its representative character*—Besides carrying the credentials of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, and the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, I had official letters from the highest authorities of some twenty church bodies (denominations) making me their representative. In the number of such commissions, this mission is perhaps unprecedented, and it is an important manifestation of united action by the American churches. Both in England and on the European continent on every occasion I interpreted my visit as a demonstration of the very real purpose of the American churches to plan and work together in the largest possible measure of unity in giving aid to the stricken churches in Europe. That is a promise that I believe I was authorized to make and that I trust will be fulfilled.

2. *World church relations*—I was the first American, not having a governmental commission, to enter Switzerland in two years. The last preceding American visitor was Dr. S. M. Cavert on a similar mission in 1942. The churches have succeeded in maintaining personal relationships across national frontiers in this time of war better than any other organization.

3. *Governmental recognition*—Everywhere I repeatedly emphasized the fact that as a civilian I was a messenger of the American churches to the European churches. I had no commission from the government, I had no military rank, but the most helpful assistance was given to me by our government and army, including the highest traveling priority classification. The government and the army recognize that the churches will have most important work to do in reestablishing order in the postwar world.

4. *Authoritative information*—Everywhere I was welcomed with the greatest cordiality. In many cases this was based upon a friendship developed through years of acquaintanceship, which provided immediately the mutual understanding and confidence that made the exchange of information easy. In all cases the interest of the American churches was appreciated. The wide geographical scope of the information received is remarkable. I met persons, who were competent observers and judicially

minded, who had lived through the war-years in England, France, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Hungary, and Sweden, and those who had recently conferred with such people in Finland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Greece. I was with Dr. Visser 't Hooft, the Secretary of the World Council of Churches, for almost a month, meeting him in London and leaving him in Geneva, talking with him every day. Whatever value may be found in my reports arises not from my own observations but rather from what I learned from all these well-informed people and the accuracy with which I repeat what they told me.

Physical Suffering

I need not add to what has been said by many others about the physical suffering of people in the war zones. Still the question is frequently asked; Are conditions really as bad as you expected to find them? My answer is: Conditions vary greatly in different localities because the great difficulty is the lack of transportation. In general, the suffering of people and the material losses in Europe must not be minimized.

London Evening

I arrived in London in the early evening. Darkness had fallen during the hour's bus ride from the airport. I shall remember for a long time the impression on my mind of the fading out of the houses lining the streets as the darkness deepened. Scarcely a ray of light appeared anywhere. How the driver could find his way without any headlights I could not understand. Occasionally he did use a flashlight torch to see how far he was from the curbstone. At the Airways Terminal Building, shepherded as we had been at every airport to and from the plane, we were again taken in charge and cars were provided to take each passenger to his destination. When the car stopped and I was told that we were at the hotel where I was to lodge, I got out but could see nothing, no doorway, nor even the building. The blackout was complete blackness. Not until the doorman appeared and with his torch guided me around the brick wall in front of the door, and through the heavily curtained doorway did I know where I was. I had read about the blackout, but in spite of the practice blackouts at home, I was not prepared for the absolute blackness of the London blackout. Nothing much is said about it any more because it is such an old story, but the depressing effect of this continued limitation upon everybody's movements every evening has been very great. Each morning as I went out I made sure that I had my torch with me so that I might be sure that I could find my way back in the evening.

Half an hour after my arrival I was in another hotel at dinner with Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft from Geneva and Pastor Marc Boegner from Paris. After a separation of more than five years, the evening was not long enough for us. We talked till midnight, and then I had to find my way back to my hotel. Of course, there were no cars available at that hour of the black night, but I now had my own torch with me. With little difficulty I found my way to the entrance to the underground railway. When I reached the platform on the lower level, I was greatly shocked when I saw the hundreds of people, women and children as well as men, sleeping in what one might call baggage racks, three deep, that lined the length of the platform. I had read of that too, but the reality of these

people sleeping in the glare of the lights and the roar of the passing trains and with passengers crowding past them was beyond anything I could have imagined.

Bombs and Rockets

The next morning I learned there had been an air-raid alert during the preceding evening. We had not heard it and nobody in the hotel had shown that they knew of it by acting any differently. That too is characteristic of the people in London after all these years of daily alerts and after the terror of the blitz-krieg. During the weeks I was in London, there was only one evening without an alert. That means that flying bombs were somewhere in the vicinity. Only once did I hear the sputtering noise of the bomb and then the noise of its explosion, but every day I heard and often felt the explosion of the V2 rockets, sometimes in the forenoon, or in the afternoon, the evening, or in the middle of the night. The people go about their business, apparently without concern, but one cannot minimize the constant nervous tension as they continue to live at the battle front, especially as now and again we hear of a friend whose home or office has been hit or had had a near miss. The serious reality of this continued bombing of London and southeastern England has been brought home to us by the catastrophe that has befallen the Presbyterian Church of England. In February of this year a bomb struck the headquarters building in London, killing or wounding the whole staff. Among those killed were the General Secretary, Rev. W. T. Elmslie, the Foreign Missions Secretary, Rev. T. Douglas James, the Financial Secretary and the Assistant Financial Secretary.

London Life is Grim

In England I saw only London and some of its environs, but there the destruction of buildings was far greater than I had imagined. I saw it in Croyden, where I was told that three-fourths of the buildings were burnt out or blown down. In every part of London the ruined buildings are seen, sometimes only three or four homes, sometimes a half or a whole block. Back of St. Paul's Cathedral, seven hundred acres are a flat waste, only the cellars and foundation walls remain. By September 1944, 107,000 houses had been destroyed in London, and 870,000 more were awaiting repair. These figures are equivalent to those of a city with a population of five million.

The loss of church buildings is very great. The figures are not complete, and additional losses from bombs and rockets still occur. Here are some of the statistics, as of the end of October 1944, that were given to me.

The total number of all churches destroyed or damaged was reported to be about 4,000, and when parsonages, church houses, and other buildings are included the total number rises to 14,000.

Church of Scotland	10	churches	destroyed	190	damaged
Baptist Union	50	"	"	590	"
Congregational Union	120	"	"	330	"
Presbyterian Church of England	19	"	"	100	"

Methodist—2490 churches, parsonages, parish houses destroyed or damaged.

Church of England—Diocese of Southwark, out of 395 churches, 48 destroyed, 342 damaged, only 5 undamaged.

Diocese of Rochester (in London) out of 59 churches 13 destroyed, 28 damaged, only 18 undamaged.

Other church of England figures were still too incomplete to be quoted.

(*For the repairing and rebuilding of churches in England, no financial aid from America or elsewhere will be solicited, but the churches in Great Britain have undertaken to give* $4,000,000 *for the relief of the churches on the European continent.*)

Life in England is grim even now—that is the general impression I received. There is enough food, but the diet is monotonous, with plenty of spam, dried eggs and sausages filled with tasteless cereal. The people are tired of the clothes that they have been wearing for five years or more. They are weary and would like to think that the end of the war is in sight. With that in mind, they carry on. The range, and pattern, and physical standard of life are greatly reduced from that of pre-war years, but there is no downward trend in British courage, conscientiousness, and determination to discover and do that which is right, and faith that right must eventually triumph in God's world.

On to Paris

I landed in Paris, not at Le Bourget, but at a military airport. While the Germans were there, our forces had bombarded it severely. The concrete runways, as well as all buildings, were gone, and we landed on iron gratings. Destruction of such military objectives, railways and some of the factories are the only physical damage seen in Paris, excepting in the Eastern suburbs which the retreating Germans bombarded. Otherwise Paris has suffered only a very little in a few places where street fighting occurred on the day of liberation. Elsewhere in France, cities and towns that were in the line of battles have been devastated; that is what happened in Normandy and Brittany and on the Mediterranean coast. We do not yet know the extent of devastation in Alsace. On the two roads on which I traveled between Paris and the Swiss frontier, I saw not only the ruins of factories and railway yards that had been blasted by the British and American airforces, but also the houses burned by the retreating Germans. In places, a whole village had been burned and I was told that in some instances practically all the people in the village had been murdered; in other places, the torch had been put into one of the houses, or into two or three chosen apparently at random. Other houses, left between the burned ones, had not been molested. This ruthless, revengeful burning of houses in those rural districts, without any military objective, has greatly embittered the people against the Germans.

Number One Problem: Transportation

The almost total lack of transportation in France is the cause of much of the present distress of the French people. As I rode across the country, so far as I remember now, I did not see a railway bridge that

was undamaged. It has been stated that about 5,000 bridges in France have been destroyed. Before the war, France had 11,800 locomotives; on Sept. 1, 1944 only 2,800 were left. Apart from the railways in Northern France that have been repaired by the armies, and are used only by the armies for the carrying of their supplies, the only railroad in partial operation when I was there was the P.L.M. line from Paris to Marseilles, and the branch line from Lyons to Geneva. More recently the newspapers have reported that all steam trains in France have been discontinued because of the lack of fuel.

By road there is also very little or no transportation because of the damaged bridges and the lack of gasoline, or even of wood for the wood-burning motor cars. I was driven in an army car from Paris to the frontier of Switzerland, and was taken over roads—not the shortest and most direct—that were used as supply routes by the armies. These routes were chosen because the roads and bridges had been repaired for the use of the armies.

Because there is no transportation, conditions vary in different places in France. Each place must depend upon what is produced in its near vicinity. So in many country districts, there is plently of food but a great lack of clothing, shoes, and blankets. In the cities, food is hard to get. There is little, or only bad milk. There is practically no fuel in the cities; the houses, hotels, and stores are unheated, and electricity and gas are supplied only in limited amounts. In the best hotels hot water was provided for only a few hours on one day each week.

In the industrial plants, some of the machinery has been destroyed and much is worn out. The production of coal is less than half as much as in 1939. The steel industry is crippled by the loss of raw materials located near the fronts. The important textile industry stagnates because of the absence of foreign imports of cotton and other materials. Lacking machinery and raw materials, it is difficult to keep their industries going or to start them again. The shut-downs affect 2,500,000-3,000,000 workers, half the labor force, in a nation that numbers approximately 35,000,000 when prisoners of war and drafted laborers in Germany are subtracted.

The prisoners of war, the deported laborers, and the political prisoners number 2,600,000. This means that France has been deprived of a considerable portion of her able male population, and also that personal tragedy has entered into a large proportion of French homes. When these prisoners and deported laborers return, unemployment may reach a figure of 5,000,000 men, unless the industries can be re-started. Although wages have risen 60 to 80 percent, living costs have doubled. Apart from the economic loss, there is serious impairment of health.

The Germans still hold the ports of Dunkirk, Saint-Nazaire, L'Orient, and La Rochelle, and their control of the mouth of the Gironde River prohibits use of the great port of Bordeaux. France needs seaports, docks, cranes, bridges, locomotives, trucks, wood for mines, cotton, wool, and machinery. At the same time, France is still in the war. All of the country, excepting only nine departments, is still in the war zone. The unprecedented has been done in supplying the foreign armies of millions of men with food imported across the seas so that they have not reduced the supplies needed by the civilian population. That in itself has been a measure of relief to the French people, and besides the army is providing a considerable amount of food and other relief materials to the civilian population.

More needs to be done, but logistics control the situation. Transportation across the ocean is controlled entirely by the army, and within France transportation from the few open ports depends also upon the army. Until the war is won, supplies must continue to flow almost entirely, not to France, but through it to support the fighting on beyond.

In general, I think it may be said that the physical suffering of the people in France is greater now than when the country was under the control of the Germans. I must add at once that the people were cheerful for they said that the worst was over, and that conditions were improving week by week as their own government and the American and British armies were doing whatever they could to bring relief to them. I heard some naive expressions of pride because Paris had been liberated by themselves. Some excessive self-assertiveness must be excused. We should rejoice in every evidence of the reviving spirit of the French people. We must also realize their extreme sensitiveness, and with some humility on our part try to understand both the extent of their suffering and also the weaknesses that cannot be immediately overcome in their economic and political situation. France is like an invalid, after a devastating illness that has sapped her strength. Convalescence will need a considerable period of time.

Switzerland

The neutrality of Switzerland has made it a listening post for all nations; the air is full of rumors as well as factual information. The underground movements as well as the governments in power have their agents there. The legal and illegal worlds intermingle. The searcher inquiring for reliable information must be skillful in discriminating between propaganda, or intrigue, and authoritative policy.

In Switzerland, fuel is limited in quantity. Offices are closed on Saturdays; houses are only partially heated, and elderly people who can afford to do so spend the winter months in the hotels that have some warmth—hotels otherwise unoccupied because of the lack of tourist visitors. Food is sufficient but strictly rationed. Business is difficult because of export difficulties and other restrictions.

An impressive aspect of life in Switzerland is the reception and care of refugees. The total number already in the country was over 100,000 (44,000 military internees, 56,000 civilian refugees). Almost every home shelters one or more refugees. While I was there, the Basel papers reported that on some days as many as 2,000 crossed the frontier from Alsace. Preparations were being made for the reception of many who were trying to escape from Hungary—it was said that 35,000 were already on the way. The plight of these poor people is miserable. This is especially true of the children—some, who are five or six years old, have known no other home than a concentration camp; many orphans do not know their family names. The Swiss government and people are efficient and generous in caring for the refugees. Upon crossing the frontier, they are placed in quarantine camps for a month, not only to guard against disease but also to sort out the undesirable spies and political agents. The men between 18 and 50 years old are sent to work camps, of which there are about 100, where they are employed in farming, irrigation developments, and other useful work. They receive food, clothing and shelter and are paid 1.50 francs per day. Every six weeks they have a three day leave and free

transportation to some town or city. The women are placed in separate camps, usually tourist hotels, where they wash and mend the clothes of the working men, and have other useful occupations given them. The men and women who are unfit for hard work are placed in homes, where they are employed as gardeners, domestics, and to perform other service. Some twenty or thirty camps are for the sick, and for the children. While the whole care of the refugees is controlled by the government, private agencies voluntarily do a great deal for their welfare. Vocational training is provided for in that way. Religious work is encouraging. During the war the Swiss government and people will continue to carry these burdens, but for the repatriation or relocation of these people, help from America and other countries must be given to provide clothing, traveling expenses, and to find new homes for many.

Sweden, as another neutral country, is doing much for refugees. There the number at the end of November was reported to be about 165,000. This figure does not include children. They have come from Finland, the Baltic States, Denmark, and Norway. To appreciate what the people of Switzerland and Sweden are doing, a comparison based upon populations is suggestive. Switzerland has about four and a quarter million, and Sweden has about six and a half million people. If the United States were to equal what Sweden is doing, we would have to receive here not less than 3,500,000 refugees.

For the relief of the people in neighboring countries, the Swiss government has made an appropriation of 100,000,000 francs. This probably equals what it might have contributed to UNRRA funds, if that administration could have included the neutral nations. In addition, a campaign for a "National War Relief Fund," known as "Donne Suisse" or "Schweizsch pfennig" was planned for the month of January to raise another 100,000,000 francs. The director is M. Olgiati, who visited America last summer. The churches were cooperating in this national campaign and were also raising 2,000,000 francs to be used for the relief of the churches in the war-stricken lands. The proximity of Switzerland to France, Italy, Germany, and the Balkans will enable them to be among the first to give aid to suffering people. The generosity of the Swiss people is challenging, at least to Americans.

Holland

In Holland, the suffering of the people is now greater than in any other part of western Europe. The reports that came to me through various channels confirm what has been stated in the newspapers and the publications of the Netherlands Information Bureau. The food rations in November were said to be in some cities down to 1000 calories, and later statements were that they were only 450 calories. Near starvation is the condition of many people in Holland. Fuel is lacking. Electricity and gas are not available. In some places the public water supply systems have been destroyed, and limited rations of water can be obtained only from water carts. The lack of clothing and shelter increases the misery of people, especially where strategic bombing of cities, factories, and lines of communication has occurred. The railroads are wholly idle, for the resistance movement is determined to prevent any improvement in German military traffic. Worst of all, perhaps, is the continued forced deportation

of laborers. While in Europe, I saw statements that the German security police in Holland had seized 70,000 men in Rotterdam, the Hague, and in Leiden, with the warning that they were proceeding to other cities to extend their measures there. By various stratagems the men between 16 and 40 are rounded up. Those who make any attempt to escape or resist are shot on sight. The ruthlessness of this final effort to terrorize the population is almost unparalleled. The purpose seems to be to deprive Holland of her national strength for many years to come.

Some grim testimony to the sufferings of the Dutch people has recently come from England, where 500 Dutch children, first of an expected 20,000, have been brought for a "recuperative holiday." A newspaper report, describing the heartbreaking neatness of their patched and conglomerate clothing, the deadly grayish pallor, the look in the eyes, ends with the following sentence: "The ghastly results of living on 450 calories a day (the war-time British daily calory consumption is 3,000) were plain enough to make plenty of British parents feel that, all in all, theirs had been an unbelievably lucky war." A New York editor comments: "Remembering the blitz and the buzz bombs, the threat of invasion, the reality of long years of total mobilization and mass privation in Britain, one cannot conceive how an English writer could make a more forceful statement. For an American it must place his war-time problems in a new perspective—a salutary experience indeed." The English author suggested that a cut in present British food rations to relieve the distress in France and Holland "would be understood and even welcomed by all but the most heedless." To any American acquainted with the deadly monotony, the mere adequacy of Britain's war-time diet, that suggestion will do much to inspire an appreciation of what the people on the European continent are suffering.

Scandinavia

Concerning the Scandinavian countries I received no information of importance about physical conditions that has not already been published. Sweden, like Switzerland, is raising funds in large amounts for relief purposes, the government making an appropriation of 600,000,000 kroner ($12,000,000). The Swedish churches were raising 1,000,000 kroner ($200,000) for the relief of churches. A national relief committee, composed of representatives of the churches, voluntary agencies and the Red Cross, under the chairmanship of a Supreme Court judge, is coordinating all relief efforts. From Sweden are coming strong protests against the action of the United Nations that prevents them from sending urgently needed relief supplies to Norway. Concerning Finland and the Baltic States I shall write in another paragraph below.

A Problem for Christians

These paragraphs, incomplete as they are, record simply my own personal observations and impressions regarding the physical suffering of the people in western Europe. It is plain that these conditions are serious and must not be minimized. Christians, individually and in their churches, cannot be unconcerned. For the time being, especially while the war continues, the armies and the governments are responsible for giving relief to the fullest practicable extent. As the Boards of Strategy are naturally

concerned primarily with the winning of the war, they cannot deal adequately with the relief of the civilian populations. Therefore, public opinion must urge upon the higher authorities in governments to give more adequate attention to the relief problems. The difficulties are not so much those that can be overcome by gifts of money as they are those that result from the restrictions upon the transportation of materials, and in the liberated countries the rehabilitation of ports, railways, factories and the whole industrial and economic systems. Of course, the churches in each country are included among the agencies distributing relief and through them Christian charity does find expression. Whether the churches of America can give any supplementary aid at this time, is a question that demands continuous study and prompt action when possible. What may be possible at a later stage cannot be forecast accurately now.

Mental and Spiritual Agony

The greatest suffering has been invisible. Far more distressing than the physical suffering has been the mental and spiritual agony of the people under the aggression of the Nazi regime. The framework of life had collapsed. The bottom of life had dropped out. The whole world was breaking down. No law, no justice, no security was left for any man. In France, 75,000 civilians, men and women, were executed by the Germans. They lived in an arbitrary world in which every day they were at the mercy of the police whose only law was that of the Gestapo. At the same time, their basic beliefs and principles were attacked. It is hard to make this real to us who have not had that awful experience.

A single illustration must serve to suggest what it feels like to be hunted by the Gestapo, and the effect it has on one's physical and mental condition. In Geneva, two young people from Holland, an ordained minister and his wife, spent with me what will always be to me an unforgettable evening, as they told of their experiences in two years of life in hiding. Even then, six months after their escape through the barbed wires surrounding Holland, in the middle of the night in half conscious moments, if they hear the noise of a stopping motor car, they leap up in terror lest the Gestapo seize them. For a long time, in their experience, the only motor cars used in the night time were those of the Gestapo. They laughed at themselves for that, but they were more serious as they added that they were troubled because even in free Geneva, when they are awake in bright daylight, when walking in the street, as they come to a crossing they involuntarily stop and peer around the corner before going on to see if the Gestapo might be there to seize them.

That personal testimony that came to me is more fully explained in a recently printed statement by another Hollander who recently escaped from the occupied into the liberated area of his country. He said, "Whenever you meet a German S.S. patrol, they are sure to stop you and demand your identification card. If this happens during working hours you are arrested and without the slightest formality deported to Germany. So if you must go out during the day you are very careful never to turn a corner without first asking a passer-by who 'looks honest' whether there are any S.S. men in sight. Only when his answer is reassuring do you venture to go on. This is repeated at every street corner. Nobody who has not gone through it himself can know what a nervous wreck it makes of you to leave home wondering whether you will ever see your family again.

"Most men refuse to leave their homes. All day long they hide behind their curtains or in some other place. There is always some one of the family watching for S.S. patrols. As soon as such a patrol comes into sight the men of the family disappear through a back door or crouch into their previously prepared hideouts. If the patrol passes without halting before or near your home, you sigh with relief and resume your position near a window, waiting for the next ordeal.

"In time, you do get experience; you get cunning; you learn to organize things. But you get more irritable and nervous by the day. Life has been turned into one unbroken tension. You are only too aware of it during the day, and even in your fitful sleep it's there—your dreams are not very good."

I did not get any exact numbers of the laborers forcibly deported from Holland. A report that reached me from Belgium stated that 390,000 had been taken from that little country.

Families were persecuted because their sons had disappeared as they tried to escape the forced deportation of laborers. They suffered when no news was received from those who had been taken away. Wives, whose husbands had been deported, were left without funds and no income, and compelled to accept prostitution. Moreover, many Christians shared the terrible sufferings inflicted upon the Jews. They made a great fight to rescue these persecuted people; pulling them out of railway cars, hiding them, aiding them in many ways to escape, living with them in the terrible concentration camps. They did this at the risk of their own lives, and not infrequently paid the supreme penalty for doing so. Not until after the war is ended will it be possible to tell how so many children were hidden. In Holland, it was almost normal to have a Jewish child in every family, but it cannot be explained how in some families a much larger number were saved.

The attack on the basic ideas of life and upon religious beliefs and the strain upon conscience will be described in later paragraphs.

Resistance Movements

Some understanding of the Resistance Movements is necessary for any interpretation of the situation in Europe. The struggle against the Nazi aggressor has been not only by the organized military forces engaged in war. After the organized armies were defeated, the war has been continued by the civilian population; the battle front has been extended to every town and village and into the homes of the people. Fired with patriotism and inspired with loyalty to the principles of freedom and justice, the people have resisted and actively opposed the occupying forces by every means within their power. What is regulated and legitimatized in organized warfare with uniformed troops, was done also in the warfare by civilians, and the ordinary codes of good conduct were suspended. In this total warfare the people engage in every form of sabotage, they lie, steal, falsify documents, stab and shoot to kill, and do anything that may help them in successful opposition to the enemy. For them, the end justifies the means. To win the war is the controlling aim of life. War at the home front did not mean simply the provision of munitions and supplies for the armed forces, as for example, in America; in the occupied countries the armed forces had been defeated, but the war was carried

on by the continued resistance of the people themselves, both by aid given to the guerilla bands and also by their own action. So almost all of life was illegal according to the established laws and customs. The enemy also disregarded all laws and safeguards by resorting to rule by the Gestapo. People lived and struggled in a completely arbitrary world. There could be no neutrality nor any compromise, for they confronted a totalitarian system. The choice was either to submit and to participate in that totalitarian regime or to fight against it. But what the world accepts and justifies in the organized warfare by uniformed troops is not easily approved when done by civilians. The problems of reconciling Christian morality with urgent duty as members of the liberation movement have been difficult.

For the clergy these problems were most acute, and I was told of the long discussions in every meeting of presbyteries and other church councils regarding the vocation of the minister and his service to his people and community. Were the ministers to stand aloof in this life and death struggle of their people? How far could they rightly engage in the promotion of sabotage, or in the protection of refugees, or in rescuing Jewish children? When is it right for a minister to lie or steal? Men and women were risking their lives in the service of their highest ideals and out of loyalty to Christian truth, and the clergy could not do otherwise than identify themselves with their people. They were called to be pastors; yet their compatriots pushed them into political life, and some have been compelled to accept public offices. One of them is a member of the French national Consultative Assembly. To a large extent the clergy became leaders of the Resistance. Of all the ministers of the Reformed Church in France, only one is known to have been a collaborationist. More than twenty of these pastors were deported. One pastor and his wife and some students were shot. Pastor Boegner, the head of the Church, with great boldness went often to Vichy to protest against the treatment of the Jews, the deportation of laborers, the conditions in the concentration camps, and other injustice. His courage and effective statement were not without good results. In Holland not more than forty or fifty pastors became collaborationists, and all the others were Resisters.

After liberation of their countries, the Resistance Movements have not disbanded immediately. Their continuation is not due simply to force of habit. These people have been indignant, not only against the conquest and oppression by alien aggressors, but also against many pre-war conditions in their own countries. With burning convictions for which they have risked their lives, they have no desire to be paid off in the small change of political maneuvering. When some of their leaders accept governmental office, their former fellows think of them as having gone over to the old men and as traitors to Resistance (now written with a capital letter). There is ruthless revenge against those who collaborated with the Nazi regime. There is also severe criticism and rebellion against any who advocate a mere return to the past. The young people especially desire to make a new approach to government. For a while life in the liberated countries may be riskier than it was even under the Nazi regime. There will be strain and tension and strife, and that must not surprise or discourage us. To turn these heroically rebellious people into a tranquil and orderly nation, to change armed bands of underground fighters into responsible citizens will require time and patience. The people who had

learned to consider resistance to authority, disobedience and obstruction as their great duties must now be made to understand that cooperation and discipline and order are the civic virtues required. Suffering is not enough to educate a people, but some groups of outstanding individuals have emerged from the hardships of these sad years. There is hope in the groups who, with understanding and tenacity, are striving to reestablish order while reconstructing their economic and political life.

For us in America a little intellectual humility would be helpful, for what we do not know about these European peoples is probably more important than what we do know. At any rate it has been made clear that these resisting people are not willing to accept or support their own exiled governments that have been refugees in London, for they say these officials cannot understand or fully appreciate the present situation, as they have not shared the suffering of these war-years. How then can Americans with scarcely any knowledge and no experience of such suffering be accepted to render any service whatever? A humble mind must characterize our attitude towards Europe.*

I am reporting only what I learned from the people whom I met in Europe. I am not attempting to write a comprehensive survey. However, although incomplete, my report is factual, and as it was given to me by well-informed, judicially minded people, who live in Europe. I omit purposely all reference to political resistance in Germany, because it might be dangerous for the people in Germany with whom some of my statements might be connected.

The Churches

I have brought back from the European churches no appeal for pity, but a message of hope and courage, and a challenge to American churches. Out of the suffering, mental agony, and political turmoil, the churches in Europe have emerged with renewed life; fresh energies have been awakened, and their service has been related as never before to the communities in which they are located.

Before the war the churches in Europe, generally speaking, were on the periphery of national life. They were not concerned with political and economic affairs. They were not a dynamic element in the social life of the people. The clergy were concerned with the cure of souls.

In the occupied countries, France, Holland, Norway, the churches were not directly attacked, but of their own will they took the offensive. In Germany the Nazi regime made a direct attack and endeavored to incorporate the church in its system and to make it a docile instrument of National Socialist propaganda and education. There the Confessional Church had to defend itself. In the occupied countries, the indirect method

---

* "There will be struggle for Europe—not between Russia and Britain, or democracy and communism, but between the pulling and straining forces within the worn fabric of Europe itself. It will be a struggle in chaos against chaos, and the outcome will hang on the capacity of the three extra-European powers, the victors in the military war, to understand what is happening in the moral and political conflict—to understand, above all, that the troublesome nations of the European family, even if they cannot organize or govern themselves, can never be organized or governed from outside."

New York Times, March 17, 1945.
—By Anne O'Hare McCormick

was adopted, and the churches were ignored or removed as far as possible from the affairs of the world.

If the churches had continued to be content with the concern solely for the inner religious life of individuals and their heavenly destiny, they might have been left alone in peace—at least for a time. They might have slept through the revolution, and suffocated in their sleep.

When it became plain that the laws of God were being systematically broken in the life of the state and the people, the churches opened the attack. In spite of the dangers in which church members might be involved, in spite of appearing aggressive, the churches repeatedly and with increasing emphasis stated the issues of life in support of law and justice. In a totalitarian situation, there is no neutrality or any possibility of compromise. So the churches had to face these fundamental issues, and make up their minds either to become part of the system or oppose it. We now have a rich harvest of declarations by the churches, especially those in Holland and Norway, concerning the bases and criteria of social and international order. For a long time these churches have not concerned themselves with such issues. Their silence has been one of the causes of our present disorder. So, at first, their voice was somewhat hesitating. But gradually, not always consistently, but with increasing boldness, the churches spoke. They protested against the treatment of the Jews, against forced deportation of laborers, against the sterilization policies, against the educational system, and finally against the principles and philosophy of National Socialism and the forceful imposition of them upon the people against their will and in opposition to their own beliefs. The churches became the voice of the free spirit of the people. The pulpit and the sermon were the only uncensored forum of the people. The churches took upon themselves to speak for the real Christian nation in opposition to those who wanted to destroy the bases of life. They became the main embodiment of the nation's claim to freedom, and the strong bulwark of its best traditions. To appreciate what was done, we must remember that these public statements were made at a time when only one opinion was tolerated in public life and when there was room for only one conception of life. Every word that did not conform had the effect of a bomb. In a totalitarian regime, the churches, in spite of all the risks, were the only homes of spiritual liberty and the only defenders of the persecuted and oppressed. Instead of the churches being attacked, the governing authorities in the occupied countries now complained in their controlled newspapers against the persecution which they suffered at the hands of the churches who were concerning themselves with politics and were responsible for awakening the spiritual resistance of the people to National Socialism.

Sometimes it was a struggle to keep silence, as in France, when the foreign office in Berlin sent a special emissary to Paris to obtain from the churches a public protest against the bombardment of Germany's cities. Pastor Boegner, President of the Federation of French Churches, told us that he first declined the invitation to dinner saying that he could not eat with this official representative so long as his colleagues were in prison. Then, when the negotiator pressed his request, the answer was given, "The French Huguenot Church never makes a public declaration at the request of a temporal power."

Now the churches say that all they have experienced has not been

in vain. Earlier they did not know why they should suffer as they suffered, but now it is becoming clearer. This was the means that God took to revive his Church. Those who have suffered most have been deepened and strengthened in spirit and in witnessing to their faith. So they have a sense of joy and exhilaration that even the horrors of the concentration camp cannot overcome.

Constructive forces grouped themselves around these protesting churches. With an awakened consciousness of responsibility for the community and the nation, they moved out into the current of common life. No longer on the periphery, they became the conscience of the nation. Their evangelistic opportunity became very great, for people were interested in discovering the secret of the courage and power of the churches. The churches now have a message, not only for the individual, but also for the community and the state and nation.

It is interesting and suggestive to learn that the churches in the Netherlands were planning to call another National Synod to meet in Dordrecht in January 1945. The prolongation of the war has necessarily postponed such a meeting, but it is evident that the Canons adopted by a Synod in that city in 1619 are recognized to be inadequate to express the re-awakened faith and purpose of the Dutch churches. This appears also from a joint statement issued by five Protestant churches of Eindhoven, the largest of the liberated cities in the Netherlands which says: "In comparison with the pre-war years, many things will have to be changed. The suffering and distress which we have experienced will certainly prove to be a unifying force. By overcoming what has been separating us in our people we shall build a solid unity. Our people, many of whom had been de-Christianized, but have recovered religious consciousness under the pressure of paganism, will be receptive to the eternal words of the Christian gospel . . . Thus the war, which came over our people like a judgment of God, will have produced a blessing for us. In the new consciousness of the spiritual bases of our national life, we shall humbly and respectfully accept God's commandment as the ultimate and unchangeable norms of life for the individual as well as for the community. Thus the joy over the recuperation of our freedom will be a noble joy, full of gratitude for the fact that the people of the Netherlands are rising again as a Christian people".*

This is not a mere emotional revival that will not last long. Neither is it the result of a mere process in which the Church has been shaken by outside forces. The Church is not made by its environment, even though we recognize the influence of forces from without that play upon it. Suffering does not always produce good results: sometimes it may embitter; it may lead to self-pity and self-centredness, and even to the loss of faith. Sometimes it purifies and ennobles character. The effect depends upon the

---

* These statements about the resistance of the churches are not mere opinions or wishful thinking. The documents issued by the churches in Holland, with an explanatory chapter by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, have been published in "The Struggle of the Dutch Church for the Maintenance of the Commandments of God in the Life of the State" (obtainable from the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., Price 25 cents), and also in "Resistance of the Churches in the Netherlands," by J. H. Boas (obtainable from the Netherlands Information Bureau, No. 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Statements of the French and Norwegian churches have been published in various periodicals.

spirit in which it is accepted. The test will come after the war when secular forces will want to put the Church back in a separate religious compartment of life. But these churches are now more sure of themselves, as they have acquired experience in social action, and are no longer financially dependent upon the state. They are prepared to maintain themselves, as they have become conscious of their place in the community and of a responsibility for the moral character of their national life.

The Church grows truly and strongly by the development of its own inner life. So it is important to notice some of the characteristics of the re-awakened church life in Europe.

1. Emphasis is placed upon making the local church what it ought to be. The public statements issued by the Synods and Councils for the most part were pastoral letters advising the local clergy and church members concerning the bases and criteria of social and national order. Christians as individuals in their several vocations were confronted with the issues arising from a totalitarian regime. By their individual courage and the clear-sightedness of their judgment under circumstances liable to deceive the minds of many, they carried out in positive action their attachment to truth, justice and love. The parish church and minister were the centers of the awakening Church. In some cases it was said that it was not altogether a misfortune when a minister was sent to the front or into a concentration camp. It was good for the parishes when they realized that the church was not a one-man affair, and when the laymen recognized their responsibility and carried forward the work of the church.

2. A dominant aspect of this revival is the central position given to the Bible. Before the war there was a theology in Europe that attempted to be Biblical. We heard much about Biblical realism. But it was still a theology and not a part of common life. Theologians were engaged in its discussions, but other people were not greatly concerned. Now it is the laymen who are sitting together in Bible circles to discover what are the commands of God for every day life. As the issues challenging Christian faith were those that the individual confronted in his secular vocation, the Bible broke into the life of the common man. They turned to the Bible to find the standards for daily living and in it they found the basis of opposition to national socialism. This interest in Bible study had begun in some places before the war. It is not a gift of Hitler to the churches. The demand for Bibles—not gospel portions or New Testaments, but whole Bibles—in the mother tongues in Europe today is so great that it will strain all the resources of the Bible Societies to meet it.

3. The young people share in the awakening of the churches. In France, for example, under what is becoming widely known as C.I.M.A.D.E. (Comité Inter-mouvement Auprès des Evacués) the Christian young people have been active in giving assistance to the evacuated people from Alsace-Lorraine, to the miserable men and women in the concentration camps (both before and after libération day) and in the devastated cities in Normandy and Brittany and soon in Alsace. This service has been both social relief and the leading of Bible classes and evangelistic meetings. Now these young people have organized a Christian Youth Alliance which they insist upon relating closely to the churches.

4. The opportunity for evangelistic outreach has been referred to above. The former static condition in which some people were in the Church and others were outside has disappeared. The attention of the

people outside the Church has been drawn to it. They are enquiring about the secret of the Church. By their common suffering, and by the successive shocks of military occupation and rule, the indifference of people has been broken down; they ask new questions. The Church can speak now of the realities of the situation. New contacts between Christians and other groups have been made. On social questions, the Church may move towards the left, and socialists, finding a place for Christian motives, may turn to Christianity. I was told that church attendance in Holland had doubled. In Paris, the Reformed Church has rented one of the large halls for evangelistic meetings, and one evening while I was there I learned that about 4,000 people had crowded into the hall in spite of the difficulties of the black-out. We may well pray that the preachers may be able to interpret the Gospel in language that can be understood today, or otherwise there may be a turning to paganism and the destruction of civilization. The present crisis may be greater than we realize. The difficulties and enormous responsibilities of these days must not be under-estimated. The masses are embittered. Scepticism and agnosticism have immense power. The Church's ministry is seriously reduced in numbers. However, strong evidence of the real awakening of the churches appears in the fact that they are aware of the present evangelistic opportunities, and are striving to meet them.

5. Another characteristic of this revived church life is the development of cooperation and united work. Even between Protestant and Roman Catholic churches there has been more cooperation than ever before. Both in Holland and in France they have united in issuing sometimes joint and sometimes parallel statements. In France, all the Protestant churches were already united in a Federation, and there and in Belgium national committees for the united planning of relief and rehabilitation have been organized by representatives of all the Protestant churches. The relationships with churches in other lands have become more precious, and the ecumenical fellowship is acquiring new meaning. Formerly that fellowship may have been thought of as a spiritual luxury and not of the stuff of life, but when it became dangerous to have relationships with brethren across the frontier, they found that it was essential. When they protested against the inhumanity and injustice of the German regime, they took care to speak in the name of those universal truths which are embodied in the Christian Faith, and as ministers, not of national bodies, but of the Church Universal. Now they expect something more from us, not merely big conferences and paper documents, but the reality of Christian fellowship and brotherhood. If any American church overstresses its denominationalism, it will be out-of-step with the churches of Europe.

6. The basic characteristic of the awakening of these churches is their rediscovery of the church as the body of Christ in the midst of a hostile or indifferent environment. They have realized anew that Christ reigns—not that He will reign. He reigns now. He is today the King of kings. History is in the hands of their invisible Lord. They have been inspired not by utopian dreams or millenial hopes, but by the realization of this present fact. The world does not know it; but the Church knows it. There is One who is stronger than the Fuehrer. The struggle of the Church with the occupying powers appears to be one which has the characteristic features of a conflict between two powers which by their very nature are unable to come to an understanding. It may appear to be

a very human struggle. But now something else occurs—a "Third" enters the contest. The true and real significance of the action of the churches is what God says through, sometimes in spite of, the Church. His voice may be heard in the statements made by the churches. The realization of this fact made it possible and indeed inevitable that the Church should speak out and become the leader in protesting against the evil that it saw in the state. It did this not merely in general terms, but in specific manner on concrete issues. This made the Church the backbone of the Resistance. This has given the Church a sense of superiority, because it possesses knowledge of a secret—the universal lordship of Christ. This knowledge has given the Church a courage that will accept no compromise, nor any separation between religion and politics, nor any divorce between the spiritual life and our material society.

Norway

Dr. Ehrenstrom, the Swedish member of the Geneva staff of the World Council of Churches, had spent two months in Sweden when he reached London on my last day there. In Stockholm the Danish and Norwegian churches have representatives through whom much is learned of what is happening in their homelands. In this way I received a great deal of direct and fresh information about these churches in Northern Europe. Some of this information cannot yet be given wide circulation. The courageous testimony and the vigorous growth of these churches in Norway and also in Denmark is inspiring.

I cannot do better than to quote the following extracts from an article by Professor Einar Molland of Oslo which was published in the *Svenska Dagbladet* on August 27, 1944.

> "In Norway a difference is made between 'Kirkestriden' (Church struggle) and 'Kirchekampen' (Church fight). The Church struggle is the old struggle within the Church between two theological outlooks. This struggle, which has been known in all the Churches of Western Europe, has been exceptionally long and earnest in Norway. The Church fight is the struggle of the Norwegian Church against Nazism. One of the happiest circumstances for the Church fight was the ending of the old religious struggle just before the war. When the Norwegian Church faced the problem of occupation, peace reigned within the Church.
>
> "Another happy fact, which contributed to the success of the Church fight, was the religious revival before 1940, which was shown by the increase of Church attendance and by a revival of Holy Communion. It is this awakening of religious life which has made possible the Church fight. During the occupation the attendance at services and the numbers of Communicants have much increased. The Churches are full and more than that in Norway.
>
> "At the center of the Norwegian religious fight was the question of 'The Church and the Order of Law.' The fight was opened by the Pastoral Letter of the Norwegian Church Bishops in February 1941, a courageous and clear letter on the subject of order, founded on law. In it was stated: 'When the authorities allow violence and injustice in society and when they oppress souls, then it is that the Church is the guardian of conscience.' This Pastoral Letter is remarkable as a religious historical document, because it shows us a Lutheran Church, which is entering into conflict with the State on the subject of law and order. In general, the Lutheran Churches are too little distinguished by a social, ethical and prophetic ideal; they are more often marked by their almost boundless submission to the power of the State. Too often the Lutheran Churches have failed to protest for so long, that

they are left to preach and administer the sacraments in peace. In this Pastoral Letter there is a marvellous tone and spirit, recalling the Middle Ages, when it preached the law of God to which the power of the State is also subject.

"The last solemn declaration of the Council of the Norwegian Church also dealt with the question of law. When the Norwegians were forcibly mobilized in the spring of 1943 for service which was in reality nothing else than German military service, the Church was the only Institution which protested and was able to protest. On May 8th, 1943, the Provisional Council of the Church sent a letter to Quisling, signed by Professor Hallesby and Ludvig Hope, in which they stigmatized this mobilization as contrary to the common rights of the people, recalling the limitations of the Hague Convention on the subject of occupation. They pointed out that this mobilization caused grave struggles of conscience to the Norwegians. As a result of this protest, Hallesby and Hope lost their liberty. They were imprisoned and sent to Grini where they still are.

"The most remarkable event in the fight of our Church was the resignation by the priests of their official office, which took place in the Spring of 1942. On February 24th each of the seven bishops wrote a letter to the Minister of Cults in which he said: 'I give you notice by this letter that I resign my office. That is to say: I return to the State what it has confided to me. The spiritual office and authority which was given to me by ordination before the altar remains with me of right by the will of God.' The bishops declared that they were unable any longer to continue their work in the service of a State which violated the rights of the Church and which unjustly sanctioned the violence of which the police were guilty. The bishops declared that they remained the servants of the Word of God and of the parishes. They drew a clear distinction between earthly and spiritual authority, between their administrative functions in the service of the State and their episcopal office as pastors of the faithful. The priests followed the example of the bishops, forced to it by numerous abuses on the part of the State towards the schools, youth, freedom of education and preaching.

"The rupture between Church and the State in occupied Norway became complete at Easter 1942. From that time the priests refused their salary paid by the State, and all the orders of the different State offices which were concerned with religion. They systematically returned the money and the letters which were sent to them by the Ministry of Cults. The priests continued to carry on religious services and other religious ceremonies except where they were forbidden to preach, deported or dismissed.

"There is only one other parallel example of a general resignation of religious Ministers. In 1843 at the Scottish Synod 474 priests resigned their offices. Their relations with the State were such that they were obliged to leave the Church and to found a Free Church. They freely renounced all the privileges of the State Church, their salaries, their presbyteries and their churches in order to safeguard the integrity of the Church. On this occasion a Scottish lord wrote: 'I am proud of my country. In no other country is such an action possible.' A century later the Norwegian clergy did the same thing in a situation much more difficult and full of danger. In Scotland the resignations had been prepared by ten years of controversy, and funds had been raised in order to found the Free Church. In Norway most of the priests had only a few hours, and at the most a few days, in which to make a decision. Censorship of telephones and posts made all consultation with their colleagues impossible. In Scotland 40 per cent of the priests resigned, in Norway 90 percent, but one must agree, that the violation of the rights of the Church of Scotland for its contemporaries and still less for us was not so revolting as the violations of right and violent measures that the Church of Norway had endured. Scotland in 1843 was a legal State, governed by law and right, where open controversy was permitted. Norway in 1942 was a State governed

by the police, which is precisely the opposite to a State ruled by law. We do not wish by this comparison to diminish the grandeur and heroism of what happened in Scotland, but we want to make clear the events in Norway. We have been witnesses of events which are as great as they are remarkable."

Russia

Of course I did not visit Russia, nor did I talk with anybody who had recently visited Russia. What I heard was what people in western Europe were thinking about Russia.

In London my attention was called to the difference between the official position of the government and public press, and the unofficial position of the British people. The British press is uncensored, and therefore is extremely self-critical, cautious and concerned to avoid open conflict. But this does not mean that everything is accepted at face value. There semed to me to be a good deal of doubt in the minds of people about Soviet policies, together with the desire to be hopeful about future better understanding and cooperation. Among church people there was considerable anxiety, especially with reference to the freedom of people in countries now coming under Soviet domination.

In Geneva, probably because of the strained relations between the Swiss and Soviet governments, I heard much more of this. From Scandinavian sources, similar reports came to me.

I heard very little about communism. This is an illustration of the complaint made to me by several people that Americans keep on talking about pre-war Europe and do not seem to be able to bring themselves up-to-date about the Europe of today. It was not denied that there are communistic elements in the Resistance Movements. These are vociferous, but they are small minorities who are not as influential as their noise would seem to indicate. Undoubtedly the trend in Europe is towards collectivism. Gigantic public planning and financing for reconstruction are inevitable. So is far-reaching government control. All indications are that the rapid conversion of Europe into a socialist continent cannot be halted. Nobody can stop the revolution which has been going on in Europe for many years. The only thing that can be done is to prevent it from continuing with criminal methods. Major industries will be nationalized—that is an easy way of settling the ownership of industries confiscated by the Germans. People have been impressed by what they have seen of national planning in Germany, as they have been for a time under the domination of that regime. I did not hear the expression of any fear in connection with such socialistic developments, but some good-natured smiling references to the persistence of mid-victorian ideas in American liberalism. Emphasis is being placed upon the total welfare of the community, perhaps with too little recognition of the principle that communal welfare must include the welfare and growth of the individual. Moreover, there may not yet be enough concern about the basic question of whether national planning is to be democratically controlled or fall under the direction of a bureaucracy. These few comments are written here only to make plain that such doubts and fears of Russia as exist in western Europe are not with regard to the spread of Soviet communism—all that belongs to the pre-war era, but Soviet political imperialism is much in the minds of people.

Concerning the situation of the Church in Russia, I did not learn anything new. Opinions varied widely, and the truth is probably between the extremes. Some of the recent changes are probably real, but within limitations. Within its own walls, the Russian Church has recovered some freedom; but there is to be no evangelism among people outside the Church. I was given to understand the Institute in Paris desires to continue its work there. Only those under forty can go back to Russia.

What can we do? It is probably too late to do anything about the Baltic States, or the eastern boundary of Poland, and some other issues. As was said to me, we are so frequently wise only after events have become accomplished facts. Then our protests are largely futile. The editor of an important London newspaper was quoted to me as saying that the Russians are listening to western public opinion, and they are irritated by our constant protests against what they do. If we could show an interest in situations before events occur, we might have more influence.

Finland

Finland is one of the places where our interest is invited. I received a first-hand report from one who had spent some weeks in November in Finland. The people were stunned by the armistice and their whole situation. After seven centuries of mistrust and fear of Russia, their attitudes cannot be easily and quickly re-orientated. They see no counterbalance to Russia. So long as the war with Germany continues, the United States or Great Britain cannot do anything for them. Nothing can save Finland from Soviet domination, although Sweden has given them some economic help. They hope eagerly for the end of the war. The terms of the armistic are interpreted most severely; e.g., the indemnity is reckoned at 1938 exchange rates, doubling the cost. Internal difficulties give support to Soviet development. The evacuated Karelians have been compelled to send back their farming implements, their cattle, and whatever they took away. So they are penniless. Demobilization increases unemployment. Industries can get little or no raw materials and have a supply for only three or six months, after which their shut-down may be unavoidable. Inflation is growing. The official rate is twelve marks to a Swedish krone; the black market rate is 150 marks. The soil is prepared for Soviet communism, and cultural infiltration is Soviet atheism.

In this situation the Church in Finland is bewildered and fearful. Accepting the political situation, as they must, they cannot yet see how they can try to create a new attitude towards Russia. For decades the Church has preached opposition to communism and that Finland was the last bulwark of western civilization against Russian atheism. They think the recent Soviet treatment of the Russian Church is wholly opportunistic and untrustworthy. They look across to the Baltic States, where Christian leaders seem to be forgotten by the rest of the world. There, they see the people being classified by the Red Army on the basis of their answers to a questionnaire. The people are being divided into six classes, determining their future status. Ration cards are distributed according to this classification. The sixth class receives no cards and is to be liquidated. Russian church leaders are put into class IV, as in Russia, but the Lutheran pastors are in class VI. In their bewilderment, the Finnish churches tend towards a Christian fatalism, religious escapism, and eschatology. They are compelled to "carry on" with trust in God.

A special message was conveyed to me, asking whether Christian America could help. With surrender of political independence, must religious freedom be lost? Or, can the Christian churches be given a privileged position, different and better than in Soviet Russia? Specifically they asked whether representations might not be made to the American government to send a special mission to Finland to obtain direct information about the whole situation. Diplomatic relations between our two governments have been broken and probably cannot be reestablished until after a treaty of peace has been signed between Finland and Russia and Great Britain, both of them being at war with Finland. Or, if such a special governmental mission is still impracticable, they asked whether an unofficial mission from America might not visit them.

I delivered this message to governmental officials in Washington as soon as possible after my return. The answer given me was that on the very day of my enquiry public announcement would be made of the appointment of Mr. Maxwell M. Hamilton to go immediately on a special mission to Finland. Pending his arrival there, one of the American diplomatic officials stationed in Stockholm was to be sent immediately to Helsingfors to establish this special mission. That demonstration of American concern is most gratifying.

(I have not presumed to discuss the errors of Finnish foreign policy or the rights and wrongs of Russian relations. I am reporting simply what was said to me by a competent informer.)

Hungary

Turning to the situation in Hungary, the whole situation as described to me is extremely grievous. In southeastern Hungary, the Germans looted the villages and country districts, not so much in the towns, as they adopted a scorched earth policy. The Russians took what was left—silver, clothes, shoes. Capital was already scarce there, and now the people are even poorer than they were. As the war-front advanced, devastation accompanied it. The twin cities of Budapest are largely destroyed. In its vicinity, 15 Protestant church buildings were destroyed, besides those in the cities themselves. Debrecen, a Calvinistic center, has suffered heavily, and an old church building there was destroyed.

In their attitude to Germany and national socialism, the people were divided. The higher clergy were quite unanimously opposed, but the more poorly educated were divided in sympathies. Many were misled by the press, and the idea of equalitarianism appealed to some. The clergy are now discouraged. The future seems to be so very uncertain. The people need relief, and the churches need strengthening. The training of ministers is a special need.

According to the 1930 census, 27% of the population are Evangelicals, over 2,000,000 belonging to the Reformed Church; 65% are Roman Catholics; 3% Greek Orthodox; the other 5% were Jews for the most part, with only about 20,000 unclassified. There were three Protestant theological colleges.

In the unpredictable future, is Hungary to be wholly in the Russian zone? Or, is it to be in a mixed zone, with some independence but in some respects under Russian control?

Is there to be religious freedom in Hungary?

Other Areas

About Roumania, Bulgaria and other Balkan areas, I did not learn anything new. But if the Russian power is to be predominant there, the effect upon the freedom of the Eastern Orthodox Churches must be a matter of serious concern.

Another area to which reference was made in many of my conversations is Eastern Germany. I was told that 600,000 people from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had fled before the advancing Russian armies and were refugees in work camps in Eastern Germany. Of them, 400,000 were said to be Protestants. None of these people will willingly return to Soviet territory. They are not Germans. They will probably be added to the stateless people for whom another home must be found. On the other hand, the Soviet government insists on treating them as Russian citizens. That is what the Russian Legation in Stockholm says of the 45,000 refugees from these Baltic states who have fled to Sweden.

Eastern Germany is one of the sections of the country in which the Protestant churches are strongest. Any solution of the problem of Poland's western boundary that will involve the evacuation of the German population is of great concern to the Protestant Church.

Russia's political imperialism is one of Europe's greatest fears. Among our church people, the concern is specially about religious freedom.

Will American Christians be concerned about this great issue? That was one of the questions most frequently asked of me. Will they express that concern, clearly, boldly, timely?

Fortunately, if they will not postpone such expressions of interest they need not utter mere protests that only cause irritation. For, the Soviet government has declared publicly that its intention is not to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, but only to obtain assurance of their friendliness to Russia in all their foreign relations. Would it not be well, therefore, if American churches should make known, loudly and repeatedly, that they rejoice in the announced Russian policy, which gives assurance of continued religious freedom in these lands, and that we are confident that these promises will be fulfilled? This confidence strengthens the relations of goodwill between our governments and people.

What is Expected of Us?

The churches of Europe cannot understand how we can remain in any way aloof from this struggle. They could not stay on the fringes of life even when home and family and possessions and life itself were endangered by engaging in the fight. They ask most earnestly, first, for the sympathetic understanding of their struggle to maintain God's laws in opposition to the demonic forces that oppressed them, and then, they pray earnestly that the American churches may, with courage and faithfulness, observe and obey the teachings and commandments of God and with boldness testify to them in relation to all national and international affairs. In a word, they hope we may have the courage to get into the arena of life and to fight for Christian principles.

The world needs a moral and spiritual leadership. Political organization is necessary. Social and economic life must be reconstructed. Uprooted masses must be transformed into organic communities. The international

organization that is desired may be a slow growth and we must work untiringly to obtain it. But the real trouble is a moral sickness that will not be overcome by a political cure. The emphasis has been on action, greatness, power and not on human welfare or on rightness or justice. People have not believed in God and they have not kept His laws. Repentance, moral reformation, spiritual regeneration are what the world needs. The Church, entrusted with the Christian gospel, must recognize its responsibility to give to the world the religious leadership so desperately needed. Humanitarian relief certainly is an expression of the Christian spirit, but the greater, more fundamental service to which the Church is called in these days, is to revive and to awaken Christian faith and duty in men.

It is fatally easy for us to sit in our armchairs listening to stories of Christian courage over the radio or reading them in the religious press, and to end by being nothing more than well informed. Our curiosity may be satisfied, but our failure to act is deadly. We may feel compassion and talk about sympathy until the heart becomes trampled like old snow, and what began as a sheer purification ends as a job for street cleaners. Can we in some way catch the fire of our fellow Christians in Europe?

Sympathetic understanding is the first essential. No patronizing condescension will be acceptable. The exiled governments have found that they could not claim the support of the people whose experience of suffering in a life and death struggle they had not shared. American churches must rightly be very humble-minded, and certainly must not presume to come to Europe with American-made programs of action. As Americans, we shall need to learn what the European churches plan to do, and then to ask how we can be helpful to them in realizing their purposes and aims.

In this connection, it may be observed that American helpfulness is not effectively given through the organization of small groups of separatist Christians, described as extensions of American Church denominations. In the struggle of these war years, such groups have either yielded to the governing powers and have been completely nazified, or they have remained on the side-lines, exercising no influence upon the course of events. The historic churches in these lands have been those who have boldly witnessed to Christian truth. The "free churches" have not been free, and the state churches have become free. Surely whatever contributions of faith, evangelistic fervor, or any other Christian strength, that American churches can give and that will be worthy of themselves and their spiritual and material resources, can best be given to these historic churches to aid them in their reawakened life and service.

Our sympathy must be expressed in deeds as well as in words. Our resolutions must be translated into terms of money and of personal service, as desired by our European brethren. These gifts ought to have some sacrificial quality, if they are to be offered to those who have themselves sacrificed so much.

In order that we may demonstrate our purpose to work along lines desired by the European churches, we must take seriously the recommendations regarding the procedures to be followed that have been adopted by the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches—(See Appendix I). That simple plan recognizes the organization of national committees of the churches in each country.

These national committees will survey the needs and endeavor to provide for the equitable distribution of available resources for the rehabilitation of all the churches and their work. The appeals of these national committees for outside help will be forwarded to the Department in Geneva, so that there may be clearance concerning the aid that may come from Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, and other lands, as well as from the United States. In that way specific appeals will then be forwarded to the national committees of the giving churches in these various lands, and through them to the different churches and other Christian agencies. After such clearance direct relations may be developed between donors and recipients. That plan has been accepted by the American Commission on World Council Service, and is most earnestly commended to all American churches.

The task is much bigger than its name. The churches are concerned not so much with the restoration of former things, whether work or buildings. They are called to go forward to new undertakings in the name of their Lord and Master. New evangelistic forward movements are demanded by the present opportunities. Besides, the discovery of how thoroughly paganized the masses in the European countries have become has made evangelism a question of life and death for the churches. The opportunity now may be fleeting, and pagan forces temporarily made harmless will reappear in other forms unless they are overcome spiritually. In this world-conflict which has its roots in great spiritual upheavals, the churches have a unique responsibility. They have been in the centre of the conflict; in many countries they have been inwardly strengthened as they fought their battles for the validity of the laws of God in the life of the nation; in some countries they are likely to be almost the only coherent institution which will be left to undertake the task of moral and spiritual reconstruction. We have reason to be very humble about the spiritual power and the effect and influence of our churches, but we cannot be too audacious in advancing the claims of our Lord, who is King of kings.

To give assistance in the reconstruction of the churches in Europe is to take part in the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ in the world.

> Having been sent on so great a mission of enquiry regarding the needs and plans of the European Churches, this report is an attempt to inform the American Churches of a great opportunity and responsibility.
>
> A. L. WARNSHUIS

March 1945

Appendix I.

Plans for Aiding European Churches

To describe how and what assistance is desired by the European churches, the following statement is quoted from the minutes of the meeting of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, in which I participated in Geneva on December 1, 1944.

1. *Reconstruction Committees in receiving countries*

a) These committees (which should be composed of representatives of the churches and Christian institutions which expect help from churches abroad) are to study the needs of the churches and Christian institutions in their country, to make a comprehensive survey of these needs and to pass on this information to the World Council's Department.

b) These committees are to validate the appeals made by churches and Christian institutions to the churches and Christian societies of other countries. Validation includes both an expression of opinion as to the urgency of the appeal concerned and as to the funds which are required.

c) These committees are also to establish a list of priorities or "hierarchy of needs" for the guidance of the World Council's Department.

d) Churches or institutions which do not submit their appeals to the national reconstruction committees concerned cannot expect co-operation from the World Council's Department or from the reconstruction committees in giving countries in obtaining the help desired.

2. *World Council's Department*

a) The World Council's Department is to help the national reconstruction committees in receiving countries in gathering information concerning the needs of the churches and Christian institutions. It is to draw up a comprehensive survey of the total needs to be met and to submit this body of information to the reconstruction committees in the giving countries.

b) The World Council's Department is to decide

—which of the appeals validated by the reconstruction committees in receiving countries are to be met immediately from ecumenical funds at the disposal of the Department and which are to be submitted to the reconstruction committees in the giving countries and (in the second case)

—to which of the committees in receiving countries each appeal should be submitted.

c) In submitting the appeals to the reconstruction committees in giving countries the Department will make recommendations concerning

—the importance and urgency of each appeal in relation to the total need to be met

—the share which each country should take in meeting it

—the suitability of each appeal for earmarked or direct giving by a particular church or society.

d) When a special project or share has been allocated to and accepted by a committee in a giving country, then direct communication between the donors and the needy church will be encouraged. But each

committee or church giving directly will be expected to keep the World Council's Department informed through reports to the national reconstruction committees concerning its contributions given in this manner.

3. *Reconstruction Committees in giving countries*

a) These are to present the needs of the churches to the Christians of their country and to appeal for the necessary funds to meet these needs.

b) They are to co-ordinate the appeals being made by the various churches and Christian organizations which desire to help the churches in need.

c) They are to decide how each appeal submitted to them by the World Council's Department shall be met, more particularly whether it

—shall be met from general funds at the disposal of the committee;

—or shall be met by one or more churches or Christian societies which have a particular interest in the project concerned.

Whenever the last mentioned procedure is chosen, they will ask the church or societies concerned to report regularly on the action which they are taking in order to meet the need concerned.

d) They are to obtain information from the churches concerning their direct giving in support of sister-churches in Europe, so as to give the World Council's Department a complete picture of the help given from their country.

4. *Conclusions*

It follows from the above that:

a) The national reconstruction committees in *receiving* countries should *not* submit their appeals directly to the reconstruction committees in giving countries. It is inevitable and by no means undesirable that churches which have been in the habit of receiving help from sister-churches in other countries should report their needs to these sister-churches; but they should make it their practice to inform the national reconstruction committee of their country about such action, so that their appeal may be considered in the light of the total need.

b) The World Council's Department should *not* attempt to deal with each appeal directly, that is, from its central funds. It is to meet emergency appeals and common projects in which several churches will be concerned from those funds but it should encourage the reconstruction committees in giving countries to accept direct responsibility for specific projects.

c) The national reconstruction committees in *giving* countries should *not* act on appeals which have not been validated by the national reconstruction committees in receiving countries and concerning which the World Council's Department has not formulated its considerations and proposals for action.

With regard to the first approach made to the needy countries this should as a rule be made by or on behalf of the World Council's Department rather than by or on behalf of the national reconstruction committees in giving countries. If and when a national reconstruction committee has a special opportunity to send a first visitor to make inquiries in a needy country, the World Council's Department should be consulted,

so that the visitor concerned may act as representative of the World Council's Department as well as of the national reconstruction committee, and that he may report to both bodies. No action should be taken on his report until the World Council's Department has formulated its recommendations.

Mutatis mutandis the above principles also apply to the use of a limited number of personnel in the reconstruction work of Europe.

The following notes may serve to explain the purpose of this organization and the principal lines along which assistance is now desired.

The Committee of the Department in Geneva will be composed of representatives of both the receiving and the giving churches. This will indicate the character of this service. The churches in all lands will share and work together to strengthen and advance the cause of Christ in the world.

The plan does not mean that the Geneva Department is to become a super-church board, controlling the work of all the churches. It does not mean that there will be a large bank account which a small group would dispense as they might consider wise. Whether funds pass through the accounts in Geneva is a secondary question. The really important purpose is that the whole task should be performed by the churches in a framework of coordination and collaboration. With this in view, two things will be necessary: (1) To provide for prompt action to meet emergencies, and to undertake those tasks in which a number of churches are interested (e.g. Christian literature), a considerable part of the reconstruction funds should be sent to Geneva to be administered by the Department. (2) While direct relations between donors and recipients are to be encouraged, and while the special interests of churches that have historical, confessional and traditional connections are to be cultivated, it is essential that the giving of aid, money and personnel, in the most direct way should be done in consultation with the ecumenical centre. The Geneva Department ought to know what the collaborating churches are planning to give to each country and church, and it ought to have the opportunity to make observations, relating particular gifts to the whole picture which ought to have consideration. Possibly churches in other countries with similar special interests may be planning to give aid to the same bodies. The danger is not that some may receive too much aid, but rather that some may be overlooked and not receive an equitable share of assistance.

The functions of the Geneva Department will include (a) serving as a centre of information regarding the needs of all churches and the aid that is being given from all sources, (b) consulting about the equitable distribution of aid that is given directly by one church to another, (c) administering a central, common fund for emergencies and for united programs or projects.

Some of these united programs of work will be most important. (a) Literature may be mentioned as one. For several years there has been no publication of Christian books or periodicals in most of Europe—no books or educational material for young people, no helps for pastors,

no theological works. The famine of Bibles is very great. The stocks of books that existed when the war began have been destroyed in the bombardments. Moreover, printing presses and other equipment for the manufacture of books and magazines have also been destroyed. German literature is especially important not only for the needs in Germany itself, but also because it is so widely used all over the European continent.

(b) The training of ministers and lay workers in all the churches is most urgently needed. The war has taken its heavy toll of the clergy in all the war-stricken lands. They have not been exempt from military service, and the casualties among the younger men have meant a serious loss in the leadership of the churches. Students have been drafted, and so the number of candidates in training for the ministry has been almost reduced to nothing for several years. Moreover, the new and great evangelistic opportunities confronting the churches call for a great increase in the ministry of the Church, and also for training for the new lines of service that the churches have discovered. It will take years to train the men to catch up with this deficiency in the number of ministers. Some ministers may be borrowed from the churches in Switzerland and Sweden, and possibly a few from America and Great Britain. A noteworthy development in this crisis has been the use of lay workers. That in itself should be a permanent beneficial result of these years of suffering. But training facilities for laymen must also be provided.

(c) Church buildings, parish houses, parsonages, and the buildings of church institutions have been destroyed in numbers that cannot yet be accurately estimated. Until the war ends, even more of such buildings will be damaged and destroyed. European communities do not have as many church buildings as is commonly the case in America, because there are not so many denominations. Here, if one building were destroyed, it might be possible for two congregations to unite in the use of a church that has escaped damage. Not so in Europe—when the parish church is gone, there is no other place for church worship. It is urgently desirable that in such places emergency buildings for church services should be quickly provided. Hardly anything is more important for the reviving of morale and the establishment of order in the battle-torn towns and cities of Europe. The prompt repairing of partly damaged buildings is obviously desirable. The re-building of permanent church buildings, and the erection of churches in new locations on account of the shifting of populations,—these are longer term problems. A Church Building Loan Association was organized with headquarters in Geneva after the previous world war. This association (APIDEP) will now function under the supervision of the World Council's Department of Reconstruction. It should serve as an important means of dealing with the long-term problem of building churches, but for that purpose its financial basis needs to be broadened and increased.

(d) The International Christian News Service (I.C.P.I.S.) has been able to carry on its work through the war years without interruption. Its importance, never fully appreciated in America, can hardly be overestimated in the future. To supply trustworthy news of the work of the churches and to give authoritative statements of Christian principles will be of incalculable value in the social and political reconstruction of Europe as well as in the direct strengthening of the churches themselves. The World Council of Churches is now giving nine-tenths of the finances

needed by this News Service. That financial support ought to be increased, and an American ought to be added to the staff.

The four examples given in the preceding paragraphs do not exhaust the possibilities or the demands for united planning and action. They are illustrative only. Fuller descriptions and other proposals are given in the printed pamphlet, entitled "Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in Europe," which includes three papers written by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the General Secretary of the World Council. Copies may be obtained from the Commission for World Council Service, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

From the same office may be obtained the reports of the National Committees of the Churches in France, Belgium and Holland. These reports will come from time to time, and they will describe the plans and the progress that is being made for the rehabilitation of the churches in each country. The reports already in hand give the lines along which assistance will be welcomed. Under the general statements above regarding literature and news service, it is noteworthy that the French churches have received governmental permission for the publication of a new weekly to be known as "Reform," which will cover the religious field and also deal with social, cultural and political matters from the Protestant viewpoint. All of these reports refer to the distress of the pastoral ministry for whom rest and recuperation must be provided and whose numbers must be increased. The reports also describe in fuller detail than is possible here the needs of evacuated parishes, institutions, church buildings and also the development of youth movements.

A word about the secretarial staff in Geneva must be added, for naturally the effectiveness of the whole work will depend largely upon them. It will be an international staff. The British churches have called Dr. J. Hutchison Cockburn, former moderator of the Church of Scotland, into this service. He has resigned from the pastorate of his church and has already begun this new work. He will be chief of staff. The American churches have called the Rev. Stewart W. Herman, formerly minister of the American Church in Berlin, and it is hoped that he may go to Geneva soon. Another American for special work along publicity lines will be appointed in the near future. The Swedish churches are also eager to add one of their men to this staff. These will be in addition to Dr. Adolf Freudenberg and M. Olivier Beguin, to whom reference is made in Appendix II of this report, who have been in the service of the World Council for several years. The Chairman of the Department of Reconstruction is Dr. A. Koechlin, the president of the Basel Missionary Society, a leading minister of the Swiss churches, who is widely known and greatly trusted both in Europe and America.

In the United States, the American Committee for the World Council of Churches is composed of representatives officially appointed by the Churches that have indicated their purpose to join the World Council. This Committee has appointed the Commission for World Council Service with Dr. Robbins W. Barstow as its Director. Through this Commission the American churches will coordinate their efforts and join in united proposals for aiding the European churches. Information about needs of churches in distress, about aid given by sister churches in other lands will be obtained by this Commission, and it will present all that information

to the cooperating churches in America so that they may appeal for the needed funds. The Commission will not present any appeals that have not been validated by the national committees of the churches in the different countries and concerning which the World Council's Department has not formulated its considerations and proposals for action. Appeals from individuals and from institutions or local congregations will always be referred to the national committees and the Geneva Department before consideration is given to them.

Appendix II.

World Council of Churches

I was not commissioned to undertake any special tasks with reference to the World Council of Churches. To make enquiries about the work of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid was a sufficient charge. However, I was privileged to be present as a visitor at a meeting in London on November 6th, 1944, of members of the Provisional Committee of the World Council, and it may be useful to make a brief report of it.

Naturally the meeting expressed great sorrow because of the death of Archbishop Temple. Coming so soon after the loss of Dr. William Paton, and of Dr. William Adams Brown, and others who were named, the members expressed an awareness of the effect of these losses upon the planning for the establishment of the Council. But the spirit of the meeting was not one of dejection. The potential significance of the proposed World Council of Churches was seen to be even greater than before because of the developments during the war-years in which the churches had come to occupy a more central place in the life of their communities and nations. It seemed to me that the loss of these outstanding leaders had revealed to these men that the support of the World Council had previously been on too narrow a foundation, and that now all of them must accept larger responsibilities and they must enlist a still larger number of supporters always with a view to obtaining the full participation of their church organizations.

I saw a good deal of the secretarial staff of the Council and I was impressed by their high qualifications, their energy, and their devotion. The meeting in London took important action to strengthen the staff, especially by the appointment (later fully confirmed by correspondence with all the members of the Provisional Committee) of the Reverend Oliver Tomkins, a vicar in the diocese of Sheffield, to fill the place left vacant by the death of Dr. Paton, and to be an Assistant General Secretary with headquarters in London. His special tasks will include (a) increasing the confidence and relations of the British churches in the World Council, (b) assisting the Faith and Order Movement, (c) aiding the Reconstruction Department, (d) cultivating relations with the Orthodox Churches, and (e) helping the chaplains in the armies in Europe. In supporting this appointment, Dr. Hodgson proposed that Mr. Tomkins should take over the administrative work of the Faith and Order Movement. The Committee however, expressed their desire that Dr. Hodgson should not relinquish his general responsibility for that work, but agreed that Mr. Tomkins might relieve him of secretarial detail. A special committee was

appointed to make definite arrangements for the transfer of part of the Faith and Order work to the World Council office. This developing integration of these movements is obviously significant.

The Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid was formally constituted at this meeting by the appointment of the nucleus of the committee, and the approval of the transfer of Dr. Freudenberg and Mr. Beguin to give their main time to this Department's work. Dr. Freudenberg has been in charge of the work for refugees, and this will be merged into the Reconstruction Department. Mr. Beguin has been in charge of the work of the Bible Societies under the auspices of the Council, and it is expected that the Bible Societies will soon appoint their own agent to continue this service, so that Mr. Beguin can be transferred to the rapidly growing work of the Reconstruction Department. Both of these men have been on the Geneva staff for some years, and their competence has been well proven. Their knowledge of the European churches and their experience will be most helpful.

In this connection, the question was asked whether the Department would deal only with Europe or eventually with the whole world. The answer was given that at the moment it was concerned only with the European problem as the work in Asia was dealt with by the International Missionary Council. As the process of collaboration with the IMC goes on, the work of the Reconstruction Department and the reconstruction work of the IMC may be merged in a gradual way. This closer collaboration was also contemplated in the decision that Mr. Tomkin's office should be located in Edinburgh House where he could work in close relations with Mr. Goodall and the other members of the IMC staff. Other measures were adopted with a view to the continued development of closer relations with the IMC.

Plans for future meetings were carefully considered. Naturally these will be affected by the war situation. It was agreed to plan for the earliest possible meeting of the Provisional Committee. In the meantime sectional meetings in London and New York in April and May 1945 were agreed upon. Reference was made to the possibility of an informal meeting under the leadership of Archbishop Eidem of Sweden which might bring together a larger number of church leaders from as many countries as practicable, probably at about the same time as the Provisional Committee. The calling of the Assembly must necessarily be postponed until circumstances would make it possible for the Assembly to be really representative of all the Churches who desire to become members of the World Council.

The question was raised whether the headquarters of the World Council should remain in Geneva. The decentralization policy followed during the war has worked very well. No attempt was made to reach any final conclusion, but it was recognized that in any event Geneva would continue to be an important center. With that in view, action was taken to provide for more satisfactory offices in that city.

There was some discussion of the question of invitations to be extended to Churches to join the World Council, and it was agreed that only the full Provisional Committee should extend such invitations. A special committee was appointed to give consideration to the principles that ought to be followed in such action.

Inquiries concerning the World Council of Churches should be addressed to

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE
FOR THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Twenty-five cents per copy.
Quantity prices on request.

Printed in the U. S. A.
April 1945.

The Voice of the Martyrs

MISSIONARY RESEARCH LIBRARY NEW YORK CITY

By Reverend A. Livingston Warnshuis, D.D.

FOREIGN COUNSELOR OF THE CHURCH COMMITTEE
ON OVERSEAS RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

REPRINTED FROM COLLIER'S, APRIL 7, 1945

THERE is a new life rising Phoenixlike from the ashes of devastated Europe. And at the heart of that new life is the Church. That is the impression I brought back from my visit to England, France and Switzerland.

The fact that I was given every possible consideration by the military and civil governments, and, as the official representative of the Protestant Churches of America, was the first civilian in two years to be permitted to cross France—still essentially a military zone—and enter Switzerland, is evidence enough that this impression is founded on reality—a reality which even the hardheaded military recognize.

The Church is going to be very close to the center of the reconstruction in Europe because, of all prewar institutions, the Church alone stood forth boldly and unequivocally to give voice to the resistance movement. Industry and the schools, the arts and the sciences succumbed to the Nazis. The Church stepped into the conflict, and the power of evil, incarnate in Hitler's Nazi pagans, could not undermine her strength.

The Church has not always maintained this central position in the life of the community. For too long it stood on the periphery of life, concerned with abstract theology and a service program of gentle kindliness. Then in the dark days of Nazi terror, the Church learned what it meant to risk one's life for a great ideal.

Hitler never fooled himself about the irreconcilable ideologies of Nazism and true religion. Each demanded absolute and unconditioned loyalty. No true believer in the Hebrew-Christian God could ever subscribe to the Nazi platform of racial persecution and the exaltation of the god of physical strength. In *Mein Kampf* and in his speeches, Hitler shrieks out against "the rot of Christianity." For he knew that the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount firmly blocked his path to power.

Der Fuehrer's Unholy War on Youth

In Germany his attack was calculated and fairly direct. Skillfully he maneuvered the young away from the religion of their parents. Insidiously he attacked the power of the priest and the pastor. Adroitly he labored through the Hitler *Jugend* and Rosenberg, with his Mythos of the Twentieth Century, to poison the minds of the people and turn them from the faith of their fathers. Not since the days of the pagan emperors of Rome had there been such an organized and systematic attack on the basic foundation principles of the Church. First and outstanding was Hitler's brutal attack on the Jewish Church. Many Jews were tortured and killed before they had a chance to resist.

In most of the occupied countries, on the other hand, Hitler did not at first attack the other religious groups openly. But he made his mistake in underestimating how firmly Christian principles were embedded at the heart of the Church, and thinking he could use it to carry out his will.

Stunned at first, as was all the world, the Church then found its voice and spoke; at first halting and uncertain; as the true nature of the conflict became evident, with increasing assurance and determination. The Church became the conscience of the people, a voice of liberty, a bulwark of the highest and best traditions of a nation.

The Church's protest was more than the voice of courageous individuals here and there; it became the voice of the national Church of the countries under occupation. It took on added significance as Catholic and Protestant drew closer together in the issuing of joint or parallel protests against atrocities.

At last, with increasing clarity, the voice of Christendom itself thundered in a world-wide cry that such things must not, shall not, be. The Christians of the world, it said, cannot, will not, tolerate the wanton torture and liquidation of their parent race, the Jews. It cannot be silent in the face of the deportation of slave labor to the conqueror's country. It cannot be silent while children in the schools are taught lies and vicious propaganda. And at last it said, openly and bluntly, "We cannot and we will not tolerate the whole wicked system of National Socialist philosophy and all it represents. God helping us, we take our stand."

The Church spoke through many voices:

There was Niemoeller, reading from the floor of his church at Dahlem, as early as 1935, the challenge of the Evangelical churches of Germany; branding the *Weltanschauung* of the National Socialists as an alternative to Christianity, which must be done away with. Hitler put Niemoeller into a concentration camp, but his spirit is still abroad in the churches and in man.

There are the words of Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, high-pointing the struggle between the Catholic Church and the Minister of Worship and Instruction in 1941: "The two great Christian bodies know that, for both, the issue of today is one of life and death. . . . There is peace between the confessions, yet fierce strife in the form of that most unnecessary and most tragic of wars, that between Church and State." There is Von Galen, Bishop of Muenster, likening the resistance of Christians to an anvil, against which all hammers would break—if only it proved sufficiently strong.

Or the saintly Bishop Berggrav of Norway: "For the Norwegians, only God—never Quisling—can be a leader!" For his boldness, Berggrav has been banished to a solitary exile. But three years ago this Easter, the clergy of Norway resigned as a body in a great gesture of protest against Nazism. In answer, the theological schools were closed by the state. Even fat scholarships failed to lure youth into the "blitz theological courses" offered by the Nazis and guaranteeing "full clerical privileges."

There is Cardinal Hlond, who in his report on the German occupation of Poland bears witness to "the establishment of a paganism so godless, so immoral, atrocious and inhuman, that it could only be accepted by morbid-minded individuals who have lost all human dignity, and are blinded by hatred of the Cross of Christ."

Pastor Kaj Munk of Denmark can no longer speak. There is little doubt that he was murdered by Nazi agents after they had vainly tried to suppress his fearless writings.

Hollanders still chuckle over the story of how their Archbishop de Jong kept the Gestapo agent, who had called to protest the reading of a pastoral letter, cooling his heels all one Sunday morning, while the archbishop was making the "necessary arrangements." But the arrangements, it proved, were not to have the letter recalled, but to be sure it had been read in all the churches at the early Mass before the Gestapo discovered what was going on.

Cardinal van Roey branded the war as "a tremendous crime . . . a moral evil in all its horror" and forbade Belgian priests to give Communion to any Nazi in uniform.

In the history of France will be written the name of Marc Boegner, head of the French Protestant Federation. Replying to a demand from Berlin that a protest against the bombardment of Germany be read in the churches, he said, "The French Huguenot Church never makes a public declaration at the request of a temporal power."

There will be the story of André Philip, leader in the Student Christian Movement, publisher of the underground newspaper *Liberation*, and distributor of the secretly printed Pamphlets of Christian Witness, which sought to unify Catholic and Protestant in a common resistance based on moral and spiritual decency. And there will be the story of the picturesque Georges Thierry d'Argenlieu of Picardy, who left his role of a writing Carmelite friar to become a rear admiral with the Fighting French. Or Canon Cardijn, organizing Catholic youth to distribute subversive literature and demonstrate in cinemas when pro-German or anti-Christian films were shown, and submitting to arrest rather than to order these young people to "enlist" for labor in Germany.

There is Archbishop Damaskinos, of Greece, offering his own life and the lives of the rest of the Greek Orthodox clergy as volunteer substitutes for persons condemned to death by the invader; holding so completely the confidence of his people that only in him could the various troubled elements in the nation find a unifying leader for this hour.

There is Markakis, the eighty-year-old Archbishop of Crete, who so bedeviled the army of occupation with threats of excommunication that they risked the loss in prestige involved in having him deported.

In Yugoslavia, there is the Serb Patriarch, Gavrilo. Asked if he approved the demonstrations in Belgrade against Germany, he replied: "Approve them? I place myself at the head of them!"

When the official government left, the Patriarch stayed on with his people and was taken prisoner.

But these are the voices of the great leaders and martyrs, who represent largely the voice of the great national churches. What of the little people of the Church—the parish priest, the village pastor? I believe that from the spiritual strength of such as these has flowed forth much of the courage and determination that has given the resistance movement its power.

There was the young Dutch Protestant minister and his wife whom I met while in Switzerland. They had started by giving help to two little Jewish children who had seen their parents dragged from their home to an unknown fate. They had ended by helping some 400 such victims to escape into Switzerland.

There was the town in Poland where Christians confounded their Nazi oppressors by all wearing, on the advice of the Church leaders, the Star of David—a badge required of the Jews, to facilitate their persecution.

Such activity has, of course, not been without its religious tensions and spiritual problems. Young people have learned to lie, steal, falsify documents and even to become assassins. They have done all these things in the name of a high loyalty which recognizes that the Nazi state is the greatest threat to all the Church represents.

The Church has stood by them. It has seen the problems in their true perspective, and often its leaders have become the very core of the resistance movement.

It will be the task of the Church of Europe to rechannel the protesting, violent spirit of these young people, and to mold it into a positive force that will continue to use that same kind of enthusiasm and devotion constructively in the building of a new and better world. Church stewards accept their new responsibility and pledge the same leadership to the problems of reconstruction as they gave to the resistance.

The Church has the confidence of these young people now. These young men and women are wise in the ways of politics and skeptical of governments. But along with this disillusionment has come a new appreciation of spiritual power. The Bible is being read in a way that is new to our present civilization. It is reminiscent of the treasured circulation of the New Testament documents in the troubled days of the first century. While I was in Paris, in spite of blackouts and absence of heating facilities, 4,000 people turned out one evening to a great evangelical mass meeting.

Hitler was right in estimating that the people were eager—hungry—for a leader who would lift their sights, give them a rallying cry and a challenge worthy of their highest endeavor and self-sacrifices. He was wrong in thinking that he and his program of racial superiority and material aggrandizement could permanently fool even his own people.

On the other hand, youth has, with answering spontaneity, rediscovered the Church and apparently found here a devotion to truth and righteousness, and in Christ the inspiration of a leader worthy of their highest devotion.

Dr. Warnshuis in Geneva, Switzerland, confers with Dr. Alphons Koechlin (left), President of the Swiss Church Federation and Chairman of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches, and Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft (right), General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (Provisional Committee).

MISSIONARY RESEARCH
LIBRARY
NEW YORK CITY